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THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN THREE NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	MODERN UNDERSTANDING OF CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY	3
III.	STANDARDS AND METHODS OF TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY	13
IV.	THE GENERAL METHODS FOR HANDLING CASES OF DELINQUENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA	26
	State Laws and Regulations	26
	Organization of Delinquency Agencies and Methods of Procedure	29
V.	THE HISTORY OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA TOWARD THE CASE OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS	31
	State Legislature	31
	Women's Clubs (Colored and White)	31
VI.	NUMBER OF CASES IN NORTH CAROLINA INVOLVING DELINQUENT GIRLS FOR 1934 - 1939	36
	Cases in Cities	37
	Cases in Rural Sections	37
VII.	BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN RALEIGH, DURHAM, GREENSBORO	45
	Raleigh	46
	Durham	46
	Greensboro	46
VIII.	PERSONNEL AND SET UP FOR HANDLING CASES OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN THESE THREE CITIES	47
IX.	SPECIAL PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO THE STUDY AND GENERAL CONDITIONS FOUND IN EACH CITY	50

CHAPTER PAGE

X. THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF OFFENSES AND DISPOSITION OF OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS IN EACH CITY 54

XI. EXHIBIT OF FIVE CASE HISTORIES OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS HANDLED BY JUVENILE COURTS OF THE THREE CITIES 84

XII. COMPARISON OF METHODS USED IN THE CITIES STUDIED WITH ACCEPTED SCIENTIFIC STANDARDS FOR HANDLING JUVENILE DELINQUENTS 98

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES		PAGE
I.	DELINQUENCY CHARGES BY CITY AND COUNTY COURTS FOR THE 838 NEGRO GIRLS WHO PASSED THROUGH THE NORTH CAROLINA JUVENILE COURTS IN 1934 - 1939	42
II.	DISPOSITION OF CASES OF 838 DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURTS OF NORTH CAROLINA IN 1934 - 1939	43
III.	AGES OF NEGRO GIRLS PASSING THROUGH JUVENILE COURTS OF NORTH CAROLINA 1934 - 1939	44
IV.	OFFICIAL OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS - RALEIGH JUVENILE COURT 1939	60
V.	DISPOSITION OF OFFENSES OFFICIAL CASES OF NEGRO AND W HITE DELINQUENT GIRLS, RALEIGH JUVENILE COURT 1939	61
VI.	TOTAL NUMBER OF SEPARATE OFFENSES IN OFFICIAL CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS IN 1940	62
VII.	UNOFFICIAL OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS 1940	63
VIII.	COMPARISON OF OFFICIAL OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS IN 1940	64
IX.	DISPOSITION OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS - RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS 1940	65
X.	WHITE AND NEGRO RECIDIVISTS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS 1939 - 1940	66
XI.	AGES OF NEGRO GIRLS CALLED BEFORE RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS DURING 1940	67
XII.	OFFENSES OF OFFICIAL CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN THE JUVENILE COURTS OF DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA IN 1939	72
XIII.	DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN JUVENILE COURTS IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 1939	73

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES		PAGE
XIV.	OFFENSES OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS IN DURHAM JUVENILE COURTS IN 1940	74
XV.	DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS IN DURHAM JUVENILE COURTS IN 1940	75
XVI.	NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS WHO PASSED THROUGH THE JUVENILE COURTS OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 1939	78
XVII.	DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE THE GREENSBORO JUVENILE COURTS 1939	79
XVIII.	NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS WHO CAME BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA DURING 1940	80
XIX	DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE GREENSBORO JUVENILE COURT IN 1940	81

THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN THREE NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study of the treatment of Negro delinquent girls in three North Carolina cities is an attempt to compare the methods used in the handling of these girls with the methods used in the handling of white girls in the same cities, as well as to compare the methods used in the treatment of these Negro girls with the standards set up by the State of North Carolina regarding the handling of delinquent children. Finally, the methods used by these cities in treatment of Negro girls will be compared with the accepted scientific methods of treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Such a study seems justifiable in that the State of North Carolina at present does not make the same provision for the treatment of delinquent Negro girls as it does for Negro boys, and white boys and girls.

A general overview of the set up for treatment of juvenile delinquency as regards the state's laws and the functioning of the Juvenile Court was made by Dr. Wiley B. Sanders and Mr. William C. Ezell covering the Years 1929 -

1934 and published in 1937.[1] Dr. Sanders also made a study of Negro child welfare in North Carolina under the Rosenwald Fund in 1933. This study included the general treatment of Negro delinquent children.

The Negro girl and woman in North Carolina as in all of the southern states holds a peculiar place in the social structure of this area. Perhaps this position in which she is placed is not the result of conscious thinking on the part of the white group, but is the result of a subsconscious reaction to a pre-civil war condition in which the Negro woman was not expected to follow any code of morals with regard to sex. However, be that as it may, the Negro girl in North Carolina has not been considered in social planning, for the eradicating of crime, on an equal basis with the white boy and girl, or the Negro boy. Therefore, the types of behavior for which she gains the attention of the Juvenile Court and the disposition of these girls under the present conditions seem worthy of consideration.

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[1] Sanders, Wiley B., and Ezell, Juvenile Court Cases in North Carolina 1929 - 1934 - State Board Public Welfare 1937.

CHAPTER II

MODERN UNDERSTANDING OF CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY

The idea that any single factor can be the cause of delinquency is not held to be true by modern students of the causes of crime. One factor may stand out more prominently than others, but the total pattern which produces delinquent behavior on the part of an individual is woven of several factors.

Moreover, factors which tend to develop delinquency in one individual may not necessarily develop delinquent behavior in another individual. What the individual seeks from his environment, the capacity which the individual has for making satisfying adjustments to those elements in his environment which thwart or baffle him, and the training which the individual may receive before he reaches the age when his behavior may be considered delinquent, determine to a large extent the manner in which the individual will react to those factors which can, all things equal, produce delinquency.

The individual himself (his physical and mental condition), and his environment, (both material and social) at a given period determine the criminal behavior which an individual may exhibit.

Professor Albert Morris mentions three factors in-

volved in every case of criminal behavior:

1. The criminal himself, including his physical, psychic and acquired make up at the given time.

2. His material environment, both natural (geographic and climatic) and artificial (technic).

3. His social environment.

At any particular instance one of these elements may overshadow the others in importance, but always it is the interaction of all these factors that produce the final result. The time relation among them may be of vital importance. The influence of one factor may persist over a period of time, the influence of another may burst forth with such overwhelming brilliance as to make one morally blind, for the moment, and then fade away like a meteor.[1]

This paper is concerned, primarily, with the delinquent behavior of the adolescent. The time element must be considered here, for at this point in the life of an individual two tremendous struggles are taking place in the individual. The first is the struggle to understand, satisfy and adjust the sex drives, and the other is to throw off the supervision and control of parental authority and assume the responsibility of adult living.

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[1] Morris, Albert, Criminology, Chapter VI.

Three wishes seem to furnish the stimulus for the behavior of individuals at this period in life; which if improperly directed may produce delinquent behavior. These wishes are response, security and adventure, or as one sociologist expresses it "Mates", "Money" and "a Thrill".[1] To secure these ends all adolescents do not behave in a manner so socially undesirable as to be labeled delinquents. Here, as at anytime in the life of an individual, the factors involving the person himself and those involving his environment, determine what the outcome will be. Even when the behavior is socially undesirable, if the child has a good home and parents able to protect him, they may save him from being labeled delinquent.

Many factors are given as contributing causes of delinquency.

First, there are the defects within the individual, physical and mental. The mentally diseased, perhaps, more than the feeble minded, possess those mental characteristics which need to be studied as causes of delinquency. The impulses and delusions of the mentally diseased can influence criminal behavior. Defects in emotion in normal or superior mental types may aid delinquency.

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[1] Morris, Albert, Criminology, Chapter VIII.

Physical defects and also physical skills may contribute to juvenile mis-conduct. The boy or girl who does not hear well or see well may become disinterested in school and develop the habit of truancy, while on the other hand[1] special skills which children inherit, such as power to mimic or finger dexterity and the like, may be developed into tools of delinquency, if the response of the adults in their environment to their display of these skills, while young, is such that they are stimulated to use them in the wrong way.

The factors outside the individual are all or any of those conditions which compose his world. His home, his school, his neighborhood, his friends, his church, his recreation, his work or lack of it, his economic conditions, and the technic developments of the age, such as the radio, movies, newspaper, telephone, automobile and the like.

It is generally agreed that the conditions of home and family life have a greater influence on the shaping of human behavior patterns than any other one single factor. Family frictions, poverty, over-crowded conditions, lack of parental control, over domination on the part of parents, immorality in parents, parental indifference, mental disease among parents, desertion, divorce, separation, and lack of minimum standards of cleanliness and decency in the home may stimulate delin-

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[1] Morris, Albert, Criminology, P. 80, Longman & Green Co.

quent behavior in a child. However, whereas any one of these factors or all of them might bring about a problem of delinquency in one child, they might not cause delinquency in another child within the same family. Therefore, the outcome of the clash of the individual and his environment is not necessarily the same as that of another individual even under the same conditions.

Many children grow up in broken homes, and homes in which there are bad parental attitudes and family discord, who do not become delinquent. Several recent studies have not shown a great correlation between broken homes and delinquency, therefore, there is some question as to the part that broken homes play in delinquency. It is generally conceded that in homes in which the parents are unable, through low mentality, emotional instability, criminal habits or psychosis, to assume responsibility of parenthood, children may become delinquent, and if the home is broken by desertion the likelihood of delinquency is even greater. According to the study made by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, eighty-six percent of the one thousand delinquents came from families either mentally diseased or mentally defective.[1] Where there are discords in the family, whether it be between the parents, over the rearing of children or over their own relationships,

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[1] Glueck, Sheldon & Eleanor, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, Harvard Press.

the influence may contribute toward delinquency in the child. Many case studies show that children behave in a delinquent manner because they feel the pressure of discord.

The economic conditions of the family may be an outstanding factor in the development of delinquency, particularly is this true where the mother is forced to go outside the home in order to gain a livelihood for her family. It is agreed by social workers that the home, and the influence of the mother are the best social environment for the child if conditions are anywhere near normal. Economic pressure often drives the mother to work outside the home and the child goes undirected. James Ford, in his book, "Social Deviations", states that records of food supply in low-income families in several large cities show why mothers of these families must work outside the house. Economic conditions effect crime, and poverty generally means that both parents must be away from home for long periods of time with the fatigue, lack of control of children, and irritation that goes with long hours and over work.[1]

Over-crowded conditions, lack of privacy and the renting of rooms to persons outside the family group have been pointed out as home conditions which may aid the growth of delinquency in children.

Professor Morris calls attention to the fact that

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[1] Ford, James, Social Deviation, P. 113, MacMillan, 1939.

the influence of any set of home conditions is relative to the personality it touches. Crowding may not be a bad home condition if the parental oversight is not also bad, and children do not sleep with immoral strangers. If the boarders are decent, the children are protected, and the family income increased by the presence of persons, not members of the family group, the influence on the children may not be bad. The personality of the child often determines how he reacts to bad conditions found within the home. One child may tend to follow the pattern of the father who drinks, while another child may become so disgusted by observing a parent in a drunken spree that he never wants to touch a drop of liquor as long as he lives.[1]

The school may contribute to delinquency through the lack of understanding or indifference on the part of the class room teacher. Many children have drifted into truancy because the teacher was dull, or unsympathetic, or unable to sense the special problem with which the child in her class room was laboring. The school which serves children coming from homes where the mother works all day, poverty is great, and the child is ill fed, ill housed, and ill clothed, may through lack of interest or proper procedure in handling the child contribute to the condition out of which children may

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[1] Morris, Albert, Criminology, P. 101, Longman & Green 1935.

emerge delinquent.

The neighborhood represents an important sector of the child's environment and greatly influences his life. It is agreed by sociologists that certain sections of a given town seem to produce more delinquent children than others. It has been discovered that children who live near business sections or industrial or slum sections of a city behave in a delinquent manner more often than children living in other more favorable sections of the same city. It is also conceded that larger numbers of delinquent children are found in cities than in rural sections, even when considered in relation to population. Sections with few parks and play areas, no community house or organized clubs, with proper leadership, offer chances for the normal energies of children to express themselves in an anti-social manner. The undirected gang is found in these areas and delinquents tend to move in groups. Delinquencies are seldom the acts of solitary children, and the gang develops first within the neighborhood.

The part that the radio, the newspaper and certain types of cheap magazines play in the development of delinquency is not really established. Thrasher in his book "The Gang" states that he feels that movies may be a possible source of delinquent behavior, but other students of juvenile delinquency, such as Bronner and Healy, feel that

moving pictures have little to do with causing delinquent tendencies.[1]

Perhaps the social conditions under which the child lives determine to a great extent the influence which a given movie may have on the child. The writer has seen children laugh in disgust at a character in a movie who seemed despondent because the affection of her husband had been alienated by another woman. To them she represented a weak character, because in their social environment no woman would give up her husband without a physical fight. This same reaction exists where the tabloids are concern. Whether the child sees the character as a hero or a villian depends to a large extent on the social background of the child.

The press and the moving pictures both possess tremendous power in the molding of thought and action and no doubt their use as instruments for the improvement of community conditions which produce delinquencies has been exhibited far too seldom, and the disproportionate emphasis placed on the recording of crimes in the newspapers, and on sex in the movies has done much to over stimulate the active imagination of the adolescent, and in cases where intelligence is low, or mental disease exists, or normal outlets for natural impulses

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[1] Morris, Criminology, P. 98

are closed these factors may influence the development of delinquent behavior on the part of youth.

The close impersonal contact of city life, the emphasis which adults in general place today on material possessions, the restlessness of our age, the lightness with which we regard many of the social institutions, such as marriage, respect for the law, and responsibility of citizenship in our democratic set up, may contribute in a more or less subtle way to a general atmosphere in which it is easier for a youth to slide into delinquent behavior than would be possible if these conditions did not exist.

CHAPTER III

STANDARDS AND METHODS OF TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

Delinquency is a symptom of some maladjustment of the individual either within himself or in relation to his environment, or in relation to both. Drs. Healy and Bronner call attention to the need for a new method of approach to the treatment of delinquency. All behavior is purposeful to the person involved. He seeks to secure some end through his act, therefore, the important thing in dealing with the treatment of delinquency is to find out what the child desires to secure through his behavior, then help him seek worthier means of securing it. In some instances the goal which the child seeks is not a worthy one, then it becomes necessary to build a process of treatment for the child which will help him realize that his goal is unworthy, and help him seek and discover different and more worthy goals to which he may turn his attention and energy.[1] A thorough diagnosis of the case from every angle is necessary if the treatment is to be intelligent and helpful. This type of treatment calls for child guidance clinics, trained probation officers, strong coordination between the juvenile courts and

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[1] Healy, William & Augusta Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, P. 1-10, Yale Press, 1936.

and the social and character building agencies of the community, well trained juvenile judges, referees, psychologists, psychiatrists, and an enlightened community which is willing and can pay for such services.

Charles E. Hendry states in the National Probation Association Year Book for 1940 that the most promising new patterns of treatment seek to avoid extreme specialization, but instead involve a three-fold reorientation that includes elements of the neighborhood and community organizations, elements of group organization and leadership and elements of agency administration.[1]

The instruments generally considered as necessary in the treatment of delinquency are child guidance clinics, the probation system, the foster home plan, when a proper case work machinery is coupled with it to make investigation of homes possible, and the correctional institution. The use of the social case history and various types of test and examinations which throw some light on the child's mental and physical condition are also considered necessary to good treatment. The giving of psychiatric test to all juvenile delinquents is considered as unnecessary by some students of treatment methods today. George E. Gardner in discussing the role of the psychiatrist in the treatment of delinquents,

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[1] National Probation Year Book 1940, P. 201.

states that there are seven types of offenders which should have psychiatrict test as a part of the necessary diagnosis to determine of what the treatment of the individual should consist:

1. Sex offenders (abnormal).
2. The runaway child who has committed no other offense.
3. Truancy unassociated with other delinquency in a child of normal intelligence.
4. The solitary delinquent.
5. The child surrendered to the court for stubbornness.
6. The delinquent of superior intelligence.
7. Cases involving psychosis or feeble mindedness.

The methods used by the Boston Juvenile Court through the Citizenship Training Department gives a good illustration of the best method by which the psychiatrist can select those children who need special treatment. The court sends a delinquent child immediately to this department and there the psychiatrist watches the child as he reacts to group play and work, and the directions of other specialists, such as the recreation director, the psychologist, the nurse, the social worker, the handicraft teacher and the group leaders.[1]

The Juvenile Court is the chief agency through which juvenile delinquents are handled in most of the states of the union. There are about three thousand of these courts, and they range from good to indifferent. Because this institution determines to a large degree the type of treatment which

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[1] National Probation Year Book, 1940 - P. 128.

the delinquent child will receive, especially those with whom this paper is especially concerned, it is well to mention the general standards which juvenile courts should meet, and a few of the courts which most nearly approach this standard.

The National Probation Association has published a standard basis for the development of a good juvenile court. This standard is based on the Juvenile Court standards set up by the United States Children's Bureau in 1923. They are as follows:

1. The Court dealing with children should be clothed with broad jurisdiction embracing all classes of cases in which a child is in need of protection of the state, whether the legal action is in the name of the child or of an adult who fails in his obligations toward the child.

2. The Court shall have a scientific understanding of each child.

3. Treatment should be adopted to individual needs.

4. There should be a presumption of keeping the child in his own home and his own community, except when adequate investigation shows this not to be in the best interest of the child.[1]

Mr. Francis Hiller goes on to state that the judge

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[1] Social Work Year Book, 1941, P. 283

should be chosen for his special qualifications for Juvenile Court work, and that referees should be attached to the Court. This type of delinquent worker has proved successful, especially in cases involving delinquent girls.[1] Probation officers should be especially trained for the work. Social work training is a necessary part of their equipment. As far as it is possible, without sacrificing more important factors, such as the training needed, the probation officer should be of the same racial and religious group as the children he serves.

The use of proper records based on some uniform system is necessary to successful Juvenile Court work. H. H. Lou states in his book, "Juvenile Courts In the United States", that unless the Court can put results of its work for children intelligently in the form of statistical facts, the community has no means of knowing how well its work is succeeding.[2] However, improvement has been made in record keeping since the writing of this book and the United States Children's Bureau has published several standard types of record cards which courts are at liberty to use in the keeping of records.

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[1] Social Work Year Book, 1941, P. 284

[2] Lou, H. H., Juvenile Courts In The United States, P. 97, University of North Carolina Press 1927.

The Juvenile Court at present has not completely charted a course for itself that is uniform for the country. Some courts have gone far in serving the needs of the children of a given city or state, others have done little. In certain cities or states types of treatment for delinquents have been greatly developed, while other types of treatment do not come up to standard.

The use of the foster homes plan in the treatment of children has been best developed by the States of California, Massachusetts and Virginia. This type of treatment can only be successful where an extensive organization for child study and investigation of home is possible, and where supervision of the homes by trained workers is adequate. Some states feel that foster home care is less expensive than institutional care, and its results are of more permanent value.[1]

Child Guidance Clinics began in 1909 when Dr. William Healy established a laboratory for the Chicago Juvenile Court. These clinics have gradually developed in most of the larger cities of the country. They serve as diagnostic centers and agencies of consultation for the Juvenile Court. The best illustration of a good child guidance clinic is the Boston Clinic.

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[1] Encyclopedia of Social Science, Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Courts, Vol. 8.

The probation system of treatment is perhaps the most widespread of all the systems of treatment. All of the states but two, Wyoming and Maine, provide for a system of juvenile courts to which probation officers are attached. The problem comes in the wide difference in the type of persons chosen as probation officers in the various cities, the training of these persons, the methods used for choosing them, and the type and quality of work required of them. Civil Service is used generally as a method of selecting probation officers in New Jersey, New York, Ohio and California. Probation officers should not be over loaded with cases. It is felt by some authorities that fifty cases are enough for one probation officer.[1] The number of probation officers necessary to do the work of a given court depends on the population of the area, and the coordination which the court has with the social and character building agencies of the community; and the number of volunteer probation officers. This explains why in Chicago there are over one hundred workers, and Boston has only four probation officers.[2]

Volunteer probation officers are not valuable unless their work can be closely supervised, and this work should be

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[1] Lou, H. H., Juvenile Courts In the United States, Page 80-81, University of North Carolina.

[2] Lou, H. H., Juvenile Courts In the United States, Page 120, University of North Carolina.

of a supplementary nature. Under proper guidance volunteer workers can render valuable service in areas where there is little money and where adequate paid service is hard to secure.

Miriam Van Waters says of the Juvenile Courts today: "The Juvenile Court in the United States today is midway between two goals. It may develop into an agency of protection of the rights of childhood. In this case it will not administer treatment directly, but will cooperate with schools, clinics and public welfare departments, all of them forming together a board of strategy to work for the best interest of the child. On the other hand the juvenile court may become a criminal tribunal hearing only serious cases which public and private social agencies have failed to prevent."[1]

Another idea as to the means by which the juvenile court may render the best service and protection to children is to be so organized as to be able to handle any type of problem involving the protection of children. This type of court is called "The Family Court". Through such a set up any type of problem within the home which might contribute to the maladjustment of the child could be adjusted by this

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[1] Encyclopedia of Social Science, Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Courts, Vol. 8.

family court. Perhaps this type of court might function well in a set up where the new type of treatment suggested by Dr. Healy is instituted. As an approach to this some cities have set up a combined juvenile-domestic relations court. Such a court exists in Cleveland and Dayton, Ohio and Charlotte, North Carolina.

The White House Conference of 1940 had this to say about the trend which the juvenile courts should take if they would render the greatest and most permanent service to the children of the several communities. "The opportunity of the court lies in becoming a part of the social service program of the community, utilizing all available resources, and demanding the highest skill and integrity from the agencies with which it deals. It lies also in concentration and improvement of service for specific problems. The success or failure of the court is in a large measure due to the qualifications and personality of the judge, to a lesser extent to the social service staff with which the court is provided, and as is increasingly the case in the less populous areas to the public agencies with which it has developed cooperative relations in its social service activities.[1]

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[1] National Probation Association Year Book, 1940, Page 45.

It is clearly seen that the standards for juvenile courts have been attained in varying degrees by the courts of the country. Some of the courts, especially those of the large cities, such as Boston and Chicago, have gone far in meeting the standards set up by such authorities as the United States Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association. The work of the courts of such cities as Boston, Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, Dayton, St. Paul, Minnesota, Philadelphia, Buffalo, New York and Berkeley, California have done outstanding work in one or several types of treatment or prevention of juvenile delinquency, under the direction or with the cooperation of the juvenile court.

However, in some large cities like New York there are defects in the juvenile court set up which are out of step with the best standards. In the New York set up there is little or no coordination between the Juvenile Court and the Court of Domestic Relations, and as a result of this, services which the Juvenile Court can render the children of the city are greatly curtailed.

Methods of prevention of juvenile delinquence are of as great importance as methods of treatment. It is in this area that the work of the educational and character building institutions of the community can render great service. The school through such officers as visiting teachers have helped to reduce truancy. Most of the public school systems

of the larger cities such as New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Baltimore employ visiting teachers. These teachers visit the home of the problem child and help him make adjustment at school. The work of such character building organizations as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A's., Y.W.C.A's, community houses, city playground organizations, can render great service in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, especially when the coordination between these organizations and the juvenile courts is good.

One of the best illustrations of crime prevention through education is carried out by the Juvenile Court System of Buffalo, New York and the public school system of that city. At certain times during the year, the judge sends to both the elementary and high schools a letter concerning juvenile delinquency which is read to the pupils by the judge's representative (the probation officer), his reading of the letter is followed by moving pictures illustrating the things a girl or boy should or should not do if he wants to escape getting into trouble. The showing of the picture is followed by a discussion period, and later on in the class room the teacher talks over the whole problem and has the students write down their reaction to the picture and discussion.

The court is never represented to the children as a stern tribunal seeking to punish the socially maladjusted child but as a wise, prudent, merciful parent counselling her

little ones about the social shoals and reefs that lie ahead on the sea of life, and guiding them into the harbor of good citizenship.[1]

Another instance of a prevention method which is noteworthy is that which is being attempted by the Community Council of North Chicago. This Civic Improvement Club is composed of men who grew up in the community, know their neighborhood, and try through intelligent study to find out what the needs of the children of the area are, and then they set out to procure these needs for the children. The first successful project was the acquiring of play facilities and suitable recreational leadership for the neighborhood. This, to my mind is a good illustration of what the average citizen in a given community can do to prevent delinquency.

These men believed that delinquencies in children are the result of undesirable influences in the community and a lack of socially acceptable opportunities for the outlet of normal energy. That any child given the same influences and opportunities which prevail in other sections of the city would be as law abiding and as conventional as children anywhere. They have set out to prove their belief, and although they have not completely proved their point, they have

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[1] National Probation Association Year Book, 1940, P. 13

contributed to the prevention of delinquency.

The Coordinating Councils which are best illustrated by the organization at Berkeley, California, are spreading throughout the country and this type of organization has aided in the prevention of delinquency. By working closely with the juvenile court and through conference discussions of problems, with regard to better preservation of childhood, much helpful prevention work has been done. At the conference a representative of every social and character building agency in the community is present.

The State and National governments aid in the prevention of juvenile delinquency through such policies as that conducted by the states to keep the family together through what is known as Mother's Aid. The failing of such a program in some of the states, especially the Southern States, is that this aid is granted to such a small number of the families which need it. The recent Federal Social Security Act has greatly aided the states in prevention methods through legislation with regard to the provision of aid to dependent children and the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. Through this program protection has been extended to children of the rural areas of the Southern States who prior to this Act received little protection and help.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENERAL METHODS FOR HANDLING CASES OF DELINQUENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina passed a law in 1915 providing the essentials necessary for the establishing of juvenile courts, probation service and the keeping of social records of children appearing before the courts. This law was very loose and as a result only a few cities such as Winston-Salem, Raleigh and Asheville provided such courts.

The State Legislature passed a law in 1919 making it mandatory for each of the 100 counties with a population of 30,000 or more to employ a welfare officer and establish a juvenile court. Thus a state-wide system of juvenile courts was provided for with the county as the unit. The Clerk of the Superior Court in each county was made the judge of the Juvenile Court and the county welfare officer was made the chief probation officer. However, no provision, by law, was made for the keeping of records, nor of methods of procedure for carrying out treatment of delinquents brought before the court.

Many of the superior court clerks did not accept willingly this added responsibility, especially when there is no extra compensation. Neither are these persons especially trained for juvenile court duties, nor do they understand the

basic principles involved in the handling of cases.

The courts are permitted to handle unofficial as well as official cases and often the unofficial cases equal or exceed the official cases. The keeping of social case records is left to the discretion of each juvenile court, and where the chief probation officer has the assistance of a subordinate probation officer, a large amount of the responsibility for treatment and procedure in handling cases is left to the subordinate probation officer. Dr. Wiley B. Sanders states (in his "Report - Juvenile Court Cases in North Carolina",[1]) "It is necessary to stress the need for centralized supervision of both city and county juvenile courts, and the periodical collection and tabulation of juvenile court statistics on a state-wide basis by the appropriate state authority."[2]

There are 108 juvenile courts in North Carolina divided into three groups: city courts, county courts and city-county courts. There are six city-county combined courts. Asheville and buncombe County, Durham and Durham County, Goldsboro and Wayne County, Newbern and Craven County, Salisbury and Rowan County and Raleigh and Wake County. The City of Charlotte and the County of Mecklenburg have a combined Domestic Relations and Juvenile Court and this city has also developed a child

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[1] Sanders, Wiley B., Juvenile Court Cases in North Carolina 1929-34.

[2] Juvenile Court Cases 1929-1934, PP 3-5.

guidance clinic. It is felt by some that the best work done by juvenile courts in North Carolina is done by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Court. The city courts are at Gastonia, Greensboro, Hickory, High Point, Rocky Mount and Wilmington. The other courts are county courts.

The state provides for three training schools for delinquent children. The Jackson Training School for white boys, Samarcand Manor for white girls and Morrison Training School for Negro boys. Each of these institutions is supported by state appropriations and receives both delinquent, neglected and dependent children. The state has no uniform policy for placing children in the training schools. In some counties the repeater is sent to the training schools, while in other counties the children living under "impossible" conditions at home and for whom there are no community resources for treatment are the ones committed to institutions. One juvenile court judge must be convinced that a girl is "immoral" before he commits her to an institution, while another judge sends a girl to Samarcand to prevent her from becoming "immoral".[1] The largest number of any delinquent group placed in institutions is white girls. Forty and eight tenths percent of the cases of white girls are placed in institutions as compared with 22.4% of white boys

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[1] Wiley B. Sanders, Juvenile Court Record 1929-1934, P. 29, State Department Public Welfare, 1937.

and 9.9% of Negro boys.

The most frequent method of disposal of cases not placed in institutions is the placing of a child on probation. Thirty-eight percent of cases were handled in this way in 1929 - 1934. This does not mean the same thing in each county. Often it only means that the child reports to the court or probation office periodically, but no follow-up work is done, nor are the various agencies of the communities called upon to aid in the rehabilitation of the child.

The second type of outside disposal of cases is the dismissal of the case. In 1929 - 1934, 11% of all cases handled were dismissed. Many cases are dismissed because they are minor and would not have needed to come into court if the probation officer or case worker had made adequate investigation. However, many serious cases are dismissed because the judge realizes that appropriate facilities do not exist for treatment of the cases.

Some children are still placed in jails. There are only about a dozen detention homes for the confining of child offenders in the whole state.

Whipping still exists as a form of treatment in spite of two adverse rulings by the Attorney-General with regard to the authority of a juvenile court to order the whipping of children. In the 5 year period, 1929 - 1934, 589 children were whipped at the order of juvenile courts. Placements in

foster homes is also used as a method of treatment in the state. Only about 3.6% of the dispositions are handled in this manner, and only meager supervision of these homes is carried out in most instances. Penalties of costs and fines are sometimes used as a disposition method. In some instances children are placed in the county home or work house. Often the word "other" is listed as the method of disposition of the cases. By this is meant sent to other states, sent to other counties, sent to orphanage, referred to an agency or individual, banished from a county or city, sent to a private school and in one instance in the 5 year period, 1929 - 1934, a 10 year old Negro boy who had stolen some money was apprenticed until he should reach the age of 16 years.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA TOWARD THE CASE OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS

The Negro people of North Carolina constitute about 30% of the total population, and 30.4% of the children of the state are Negroes. The group contributes 7% of the orphanage population, 18% of the training school population, and about 60% of the prison population. Negroes make up 78% of the women prisoners and 8.4% of the delinquents of the state are Negro girls.

For the last twenty years the various civic groups and women's clubs, especially the Negro women's clubs have petitioned the State Legislature to appropriate funds for the erection of a training school for Negro girls.

For a number of years, ending in 1939, the Negro women's clubs of the state attempted to maintain a private training school for Negro girls at Efland, North Carolina. This undertaking was never successful as the funds were always meager and the pittance granted by the state did not make a satisfactory program possible. In 1919, these women began to ask the State Legislature to take over this school and from that time until 1939 each legislative biennial session was faced with the plea of these women to take over the school. In late years beginning in 1936 white women's club groups

have added their support to that of the Negro club women in trying to get the school taken over by the state. Inasmuch as the school was never adequate the women agreed to close it in 1939, hoping that this act would call to the attention of the legislature the importance of the establishment of such a school.

In spite of the general trend in the handling of delinquents which is to use the correctional institution as a last resort, the need for such a school for Negro girls is very great. The reasons for the need are as follows: First, in North Carolina there are very few Negro probation officers. In 1934 when Dr. Sanders made his study, there was not a single full-time Negro man probation officer in the state. Such officers are necessary if treatment outside institutions is to be effective. Second, many cases of delinquency among Negro girls are dismissed because there is no correctional institution in which to place the girls. Judge Reed of the Charlotte Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court wrote to the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, "In my work as Judge of Domestic Relations Court, which includes juvenile jurisdiction, my hands are completely tied in dealing with delinquent Negro girls,and the absence of any institution, I am convinced, encourages delinquency". Third, the number of standardized foster homes which may be secured for Negro children is meager, and a training school would aid along

this line. Finally, the state should offer equal facilities to all of its children, and the absence of a training school for Negro girls, when all other groups have them is discrimination against one group of the state's children. As I stated in the beginning of this study, Negro girls are not considered in the same light as white girls in the state. Many members of the legislature as well as others believe that all Negro girls are potential delinquents, especially with regard to morals.

Dr. Sanders has this to say concerning this attitude in his 1934 study, "Many white people, among them court house officials, hold the view that practically all Negro girls are sexually delinquent, and if a judge of a juvenile court began hearing cases of this sort he would be swamped with work."[1] Dr. Sanders states, "A number of years ago, I interviewed for the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, a man in a certain county who had applied for the position of County Superintendent of Public Welfare. This man was asked, among other things, whether there was much juvenile delinquency in his county. He replied that there was practically none among white girls. 'Of course there are some white boys who have had sex relations with Negro girls, but it is a good thing because it protects the white girls.'"

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[1] Wiley B. Sanders, "Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina", P. 195, North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1934.

The general attitude toward the provision of a training school for Negro girls has softened greatly in recent years, and in both the 1939 and 1941 legislatures bills were introduced by representatives, asking that a training school for Negro girls be established. Both bills were lost. However, the sponsors of the bills and a large number of forward working white and colored people in the state look forward to the passage of the bill by the next legislature.

The 1941 bill received the following consideration: - Be it resolved by the House of Representatives the Senate concurring.

Section 1. That the Governor of North Carolina be, and he is hereby authorized, empowered and requested to appoint a special and impartial commission of five citizens of the State of North Carolina for the purpose of making a study of such plans as have been or may be presented, providing for the establishment of a training school for delinquent Negro girls and collect such information and data in connection therewith as they, the commission, may deem necessary.

Section 2. That the said commission shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the Governor and the Advisory Budget Commission on or before the first day of July 1942, in order that the Governor and the Advisory Budget Commission may, if they think advisable, recommend to

the General Assembly of 1943 the establishment of said institution and an appropriation for operating expenses thereof.[1] For several years prior to 1939 the state did make a small appropriation toward the maintenance of the private Negro school at Efland. This appropriation kept alive, however, a very inadequate school claimed by some social worker to do more harm than good.

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[1] Record of North Carolina General Assembly, 1941.

CHAPTER VI

NUMBER OF CASES INVOLVING DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS FOR 1934 - 1939

During the five year period 1934 - 1939 there passed through the Juvenile Courts of North Carolina 1,285 delinquent, neglected and dependent Negro girls. One thousand sixty-two of these girls lived in urban areas. Seventy-four came from rural non-farm areas, eighty from rural farm areas, and the section from which 69 came was not recorded. The reasons for the appearance in court of these girls were as follows: disputed custody 75, neglected and dependent 372, delinquent 838. One hundred and eighty-one of these girls were recidivists. The following methods were used by the cities and counties for the disposition of cases of disputed custody. Dismissed 14.6%, foster homes 2.6%, custody of mother 18.6%, custody of father 16.2%, joint custody 4%, "other", which means placed in orphan home, sent to another state or county, etc., 4%. Thirty of the seventy-five girls brought before the juvenile court for disputed custody have no record in the state office as to disposal of their cases. The lack of uniform and consistent reports from cities and counties may account for this, or these cases may have been entered as complaints but not followed up, either by the court or by the persons entering the complaint.

The disposition of dependent cases for the same years is as follows: dismissed 1.1%, foster homes 55.4%, other 12%, pending settlement 1.9%, sent to institutions 10.7%, returned home .81%, to mother 9.4%, to father 7.25%, to another county .27%, unknown 1.08%. There were 838 delinquent Negro girls handled by the Juvenile Courts of the state. The age of these girls ranged from five years to 16. The ages of 44 were not given in the state reports and the ages of seven could not be established. Negro girls numbered 410 from the city, and 428 were from the rural areas. The reason for the rural areas exceeding the cities in Negro girl delinquents is not clear, but within the last five years several counties have added Negro child welfare workers to the county department of public welfare. These persons may have referred larger number of girls to the courts than were referred in the past. The greatest number of girls passing through the courts were 15 years old. More girls found their way into court between the ages of 13 and 15 than at any other age level. The largest number of girls were charged with larceny and receiving, both among the city group and the rural group. One reason for this may be the fact that any Negro girl who steals as little as five or ten cents, or some food while working in a white home is turned over to the police, and is immediately taken into court. Stealing is quite common among girls who work in domestic service because the wage scale is so low. Three dollars a week is average pay. This same group of girls is

often caught stealing cheap wearing apparel from the low price stores such as Five and Ten and United Dollar Stores. Immorality ranks rather low. Only 11 of the 410 city girls are so charged, and nine of the rural girls were called before the court for this offense. This low rate of immorality does not coincide with the reports of social case workers and the high rate of illegitimacy generally found among Negroes in the various counties. Sex offenses on the part of Negro girls do not shock the community as much as some other type of offense committed by Negro girls, and therefore, not as many are brought into court for this offense as would be if the community was more interested. Truancy is greater among city girls than rural girls. The charge "delinquent" for which 66 city girls and 31 rural girls were brought into court is used broadly in the various courts to cover many types of misconduct. It ranges all the way from petty thieving to immorality. The use of this term makes it difficult to break down the various charges as well as is desired.

If all of the attacks on person are grouped together, viz., assault, assault with deadly weapon, and fighting, by far the largest number of city and rural girls might be said to have been brought into the court for "fighting".

Fighting	City girls	27	Fighting	rural girls	32
Assault	" "	50	Assault	" "	54
Assault with deadly weapon	" "	24	Assault with deadly weapon	" "	33
	TOTAL	101		TOTAL	119

This type of misconduct easily attracts the attention of the community, and police are often called, thus large numbers of girls committing these offenses are brought into court by the police. Often several different families live in one - four or five room house, and fighting often takes place between persons of the same household but not necessarily of the same family. This may account to some extent for the large number of cases of fighting.

Those 838 delinquent cases were disposed of in the following manner: dismissed, fine and cost, foster home, jail, other (sent to other cities or counties), pending, sent to institutions, probation, returned home, damages, higher court, whipped, judgment, suspended, unknown. Almost half of the cases of Negro delinquent girls brought before the courts were dismissed in spite of the fact that the majority of the charges were serious from the standpoint of delinquency. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that there is no correctional institution for Negro girls and few Negro probation officers attached to the juvenile courts. Thirteen of the Negro girls were whipped as a method of treatment during this time. This took place in spite of the two adverse rulings which the Attorney General handed down concerning the right of a juvenile court to order whipping as a method of punishment. The State Attorney General, when asked for a decision by the state Commissioner of Public Welfare, made the first ruling

May 27, 1921 and the second April 13, 1923.[1] No white girls were whipped during this period, 1934 - 1939. The report for 1929 - 1934 showed that 66 white boys were whipped, no white girls, 96 Negro boys and 16 Negro girls. The five county cases sent to a higher court were for violation of the liquor law. Often when a girl or boy is 16 or if the act committed is of a rather grave nature, the child is often sent to a high adult court. A Negro boy definitely suspected of rape would ordinarily be sent to an adult court for trial, even though he might not be more than 13 or 14 years old. The 13 city girls and the 25 rural girls sent to institutions were not all sent to the school at Efland. Some were placed in the Negro orphan homes, and others were sent to private boarding schools in the state. These schools do not cater to delinquent children particularly, but often the schools are small, poorly equipped and badly in need of money, and because the state helped with the board and tuition of these girls they were taken in. This method of treatment has been used in instances where the child needed to be removed from the home environment, and a suitable foster home could not be found for her. Twenty-one and forty-seven hundreds percent of the 838 girls were recidivists, one returned to the court

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[1] Sanders, Wiley B., Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina, P. 198, University of North Carolina Press.

ten times in the five year period, and 124 or 14.43% returned to the courts a second time. The cases labeled "delinquent" may mean any type of delinquent behavior, and it is impossible to make a true report of the actual charges for all of the 838 girls because of this loose method used for listing the charges.

TABLE I

DELINQUENCY CHARGES BY CITY AND COUNTY COURTS FOR THE 838 NEGRO GIRLS WHO PASSED THROUGH THE NORTH CAROLINA JUVENILE COURTS

1934 - 1939

Charge	City Courts		County Courts	
No Charge	No.	PERCENT	NO. 11	PERCENT 2.6
Assault Deadly Weapon	24	5.82	33	7.7
Incorrigible	21	5.08	26	6.1
Breaking and Entering	7	.17	11	2.6
Carrying Concealed Weapon	1	.24	1	.20
Crime Vs. Nature	1	.24	--	--
Delinquent	16	16.9	31	7.24
Highway Robbery	--	--	2	.47
Drunk	9	2.19	11	2.6
Fighting	27	6.58	32	7.45
Forgery	4	.97	--	--
Immorality	11	2.68	9	2.1
Larceny and Receiving	91	22.11	115	26.9
Murder	1	.24	1	.23
Nuisance and Disorderly	21	5.08	14	3.27
Trespass	1	.24	12	2.8
Truancy	61	14.87	36	8.4
Violation Liquor Law	6	1.46	5	1.17
Violation Motor Vehicle Law	--	--	1	.23
Violation Probation Law	1	.24		
Assault	50	12.19	54	12.62
Miscellaneous	6	1.46	15	3.5
Injury to Property	1	.24	8	1.9

TABLE II

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF 838 DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURTS OF NORTH CAROLINA 1934 - 1939

Disposition	City Courts		County Courts	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
County Home	--	--	6	1.4
Dismissed	175	42.60	42	9.8
Fine and Cost	5	1.20	20	4.7
Foster Home	21	5.10	13	3.04
Jail	30	7.40	24	5.6
Other	14	3.40	24	5.6
Pending	--	--	6	1.4
Institutions	13	4.10	25	5.84
Probation	91	22.10	148	34.58
Returned	19	4.60	58	13.55
Damages	7	1.70	11	2.57
Higher Court	--	--	5	1.17
Whipped	10	2.40	3	.07
Judgment Suspended	22	5.30	31	7.24
Unknown	3	.70	12	2.8

TABLE III

AGES OF NEGRO GIRLS PASSING THROUGH JUVENILE COURTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

1934 - 1939

City - 410 County - 428

Age	Frequency	Percent
5	2	.24
6	2	.24
7	4	.48
8	12	1.43
9	26	3.1
10	38	4.53
11	45	5.37
12	82	9.78
13	155	18.5
14	195	23.27
15	201	24.
16	25	3.
	44	5.25
	7	.84

CHAPTER VII

BACKGROUND FOR STUDY OF NEGRO GIRLS IN RALEIGH - GREENSBORO - DURHAM

Raleigh, Greensboro and Durham are the three North Carolina cities chosen for the study of Negro delinquent girls. These three cities are near the center of the state, they all have close proximity to the three largest universities in the state, namely, the University of North Carolina, (the Women's College is at Greensboro), Duke University and State College. This fact gives the juvenile courts of these cities the opportunity to use the facilities of the sociology and psychology departments in their work to some extent. The State Department of Charities and Public Welfare is situated in Raleigh, and Durham and Greensboro are less than 100 miles from the capital city. Therefore, they can easily reach the state department for help.

The Raleigh Court is of the city-county type. The Durham Court is of the city-county type and the Greensboro Court is of the separate city type. Therefore, the information secured from the Greensboro court deals only with city children, while the information secured from the Raleigh and Durham courts concern both city and rural children.

The Negro population in all three cities is about one third of the total population. Durham is an industrial city. Two of the most popular brands of cigarettes are manufactured in the city, and large numbers of Negroes are employed in the non-white collar jobs of the factories. Raleigh has no large manufacturing establishments and Negroes find employment in personal and domestic service in largest numbers. Greensboro is the center or metropolis of the textile area of the Piedmont section of North Carolina. It is surrounded by several small towns in which there are large textile mills. Negroes find very little employment in these textile mills and as in Raleigh find greatest employment in personal and domestic service. The economic condition is not as bad in these cities as it is in towns farther to the East where farming is the chief industry; neither is it as good as the economic condition on the average of the Negroes living in such cities as Winston-Salem and Charlotte.

CHAPTER VIII

PERSONNEL AND SET UP FOR HANDLING CASES OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN THESE THREE CITIES

The Juvenile Court of Raleigh has a staff of five, the judge, clerk, white man probation officer, white woman probation officer, and Negro man probation officer. The judge is specially appointed by the city and county commissioners. He is not the clerk of the Superior Court as is the case in the regular county juvenile courts.

The Durham Court is presided over by a woman judge. There is a clerk, and one white man probation officer who handles all of the probation cases, as well as the many other duties which are required of a probation officer. The judge is chosen in the same manner as the Raleigh judge.

The Greensboro court is known as the Juvenile Commission. The probation officers are called commissioners. There are two white commissioners, man and woman, and one Negro man commissioner. Although the Negro commissioner handles all Negro cases his title is "Boys'" Commissioner, and he is expected to give most of his attention to the problem of boys, and the development of boys clubs. He spends a part of the summer as director of a boys' camp for under-privileged children.

The Negro probation officer in Raleigh is often called

upon to aid the police service in apprehending adult persons who have stolen articles. Because of the heavy load which the Negro probation officer carries, the judge of the Juvenile Court asked the commissioners in his annual report for a Negro woman probation officer at as early a date as possible.

The individual best trained for the work is the white probation officer of the Durham Court. He is a college graduate with a Master's Degree in Child Psychology. He has spent several months as a case worker in the children's Village in New York State, a child guidance clinic, a settlement house and a psychopathic hospital. The judge of the Durham Court was appointed by political friends of her husband upon her husband's death. She has had no special training for the position. The Raleigh judge was the city solicitor before being appointed judge of the Juvenile Court. The appointment was for political reasons. His training as a lawyer is adequate, but he has had no special social work training. The white man and woman probation officers attached to the Raleigh Court had worked as volunteer case workers in local agencies before being appointed to these positions. The woman probation officer had worked with her father who is superintendent of a local orphanage before being made probation officer. The Negro probation officer in Raleigh had worked for six months as A. W. P. A., case worker before being appointed probation officer. The chief

probation officer of Wake County had known him as a school boy, and had employed him as her chauffeur. When it became the duty of the chief probation officer to appoint a Negro probation officer she appointed this young man, in spite of the fact that her desk was flooded with applications of persons well trained for the job. The Negro probation officer attached to the Greensboro Court has no special social case work training. He had showed promise as a boys' group work leader, especially with Boy Scouts before being appointed to the job of Boys' Commissioner.

It is interesting to note that this year, through the influence of the chief probation officer of Wake County that the Negro probation officer of Raleigh will study at the New York School of Social Work for six months on a Rosenwald Scholarship. He is the first Negro probation officer to receive this scholarship.

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO THE STUDY AND GENERAL CONDITIONS FOUND IN EACH CITY

The facts concerning the Negro delinquent girls of these three cities were secured in the following manner: tabulation of information found on the record cards in the office of the juvenile judges, conversations with the probation officers, the juvenile court clerks and a conference with the judge of the Durham Court.

The data cover the Years 1939, 1940. It was impossible to secure any information prior to that date from the Raleigh Court because records have only been kept for the last two years. The information from the Durham court is rather meager and sketchy for 1939. The judge stated that only within the last year, since she has had a well trained probation officer, has she been able to keep records anywhere near adequate.

The social case histories vary in the type of information they contain, and the fullest social histories were found in the files of the Raleigh office.

The use of psychiatric test, and mental hygiene treatment take place only in very special cases in all three cities, although these services are available to each city. Duke University provides the mental test when called upon to

do so. I was not able to find a single instance in which these two types of aid had been used in the treatment of a Negro delinquent girl. Prior to 1939 such methods may have been used, but such information does not appear on the docket book, and the docket book is the only type of record kept in Durham and Raleigh prior to 1939 as far as the cases of Negro girls were concerned.

The court of each city hear both official and unofficial cases. Many of the inconsistencies in the records are due to the loose way in which the unofficial cases are recorded. To illustrate this point the following fact is called to attention. The state figures give for the five years from 1934 to 1939 a total of 838 Negro delinquent girls coming before the juvenile courts of North Carolina, nevertheless, the annual report of one of the judges of one of the cities studied, listed the Negro girls coming before that court for the five year period, 1934 - 1939, as 886. This means, if her figures are correct, that she only reported to the state a very small portion of the total number of Negro delinquent girls in her city and county for this period.

With the exception of casual conference or reprimands no special effort is made to have the parents or family make adjustments which would help with the treatment of the girls.

To my mind a psychology of fear is used by the judges and the probation officers in handling Negro delinquent girls.

As I shall point out in the study of girls in each city, the most frequent method of treatment is to reprimand and warn the girl. It is not always clear of what she is warned. It is hoped by probation officer and judge that since little can be done to really rehabilitat the girl, perhaps having to stand before a serious looking white man in the rather formal environment of the court room or judge's office and hear a rather sobering lecture with a threat attached may frighten the girl into behaving herself.

In each city it was observed that a large proportion of the mothers of these delinquent girls worked outside the home. The judge of the Durham court estimated that 90% of the girls who come before her are the daughters of mothers who work outside the home. Eighty-two percent of the mothers of the Raleigh girls worked full or part-time outside the home. The probation officer in Greensboro could produce no figures on this condition, but he stated that a very large percent of the mothers of his girls work outside the home.

It had been hoped that it would be possible to study the social histories of these girls and compare those who needed institutional care, and those who needed the care of specialists outside the institutions, as recommended by the probation officer. Perhaps lack of uniformity in court procedures and also the loose connection which the courts

have with other agencies, which could render valuable aid, keep the probation officers from seeing the need of keeping careful and detailed social histories when the treatment will follow, to a very small extent, the recommendations made.

In the study of one case history it was discovered that the city had spent $200 on the handling of the girl's case but she still had not become adjusted, and still the record showed no steps on the part of the court of the probation officer to dig down and try to find out why the city was spending its money uselessly on this girl.

CHAPTER X

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF OFFENSES AND DISPOSITION OF CASES

In Raleigh the number of Negro and white girls who passed through the juvenile court during the two years 1939 - 1940 was 437. This number includes official and unofficial cases. Only the record of the official cases for 1939 were available. Both the official and unofficial cases for 1940 were studied.

There were 12 different offenses listed for Negro and white delinquent girls in 1939. There were 59 Negro girls brought before the court and 64 white girls. The greatest number of white girls were truants from home. 30% of them committed this offense. 23% of them were listed as incorrigible, 16% for truant from school, 15% for larceny, 1.5% for sex offenses and 14.7% for "delinquency". This term "delinquency" listed as an offense may mean any type of offense, but is used most frequently by the various courts to indicate sex offenses of various kinds, especially the more sordid types.

The offenses of Negro girls ranged over a larger area. The highest number of cases was for fighting. Twenty-three percent were called in for this offense. The next highest number of cases was for larceny, 22%. The Negro cases

represented 5% of the truants from home, 2.21% of truants from school, 2.21% sex offenses, 16% of the incorrigibles, 1.6% of the group labeled "delinquency", 11% engaged in affrays, and 11% were brought in for disorderly conduct. Each group contained one girl who had possessed or sold whiskey.

The offenses which the Negro girls committed, but which were not committed by the white girls were bastardy, 1.67%, fighting, disorderly conduct, engaging in affrays and violation of city ordinances 1.67%.

No girl in either group was over 16 years old and the average age for the Negro girls was 13.9 years, while for the white girls the average was 14.8 years.

The distribution of the disposition of the offenses for this same group of girls for the year 1939 was as follows: Twenty-five percent of the Negro girls were placed on probation, and 50% of the white girls were placed on probation, fifty-six percent of the Negro girls were reprimanded and warned as compared with 19.8% of the white girls, and 6% of the Negro girls and 13.9% of the white girls were placed under supervision.. Supervision (according) to the Raleigh probation officer) is not as strict a penalty as probation. It often carries with it no threat of institutional treatment for recividism, as is the case of probation. Six percent of the Negro cases and 3.8% of the white cases

were dismissed. Home placement was given to 5% of the Negro cases and to 5.8% of the white cases.

The widest range of difference in the numbers handled by a given method is found in the area of those reprimanded and warned. More than half of the Negro girls who came before the court were reprimanded and warned, whereas only 19.8% of the white cases were handled in this manner. This is true even though there is a wider range of offenses committed by the Negro girls than by the white girls.

It is not stated at any time as to what the warning of the Negro girls involves. There is no correctional institution to which to send them. There are instances in which they have been placed in jail, although the state frowns on this procedure. In other instances, the probation officers stated they were placed in boarding homes in the country and many of them do not care to have this happen to them. Although this type of treatment of the case may not get at the cause of the problem and really help the girl to make adjustments, still it evidently had some effect, for the number of repeaters among Negro girls for 1939 was eight, whereas with white girls the number was 12. The real reason for the difference in recidivists cases could not be determined, however.

The Negro people in Raleigh represent only a third of the population and yet 59 of the 110 cases handled during

1939 were Negro cases. This is far out of proportion to what the number should be in proportion to the population, but it is in keeping with the trend which E. Franklin Frazier found in his study of "The Negro Family in The United States". He states, "Disorganization of family life in urban areas, together with communal controls, result in a higher degree of delinquency rate among Negro boys and girls than among white boys and girls."[1] It is true that the police will arrest a Negro child more quickly than a white child for the same offense. This may be one cause of the disproportionate number of Negro cases. Often too, if police do carry children to their homes with the intention of not reporting the case further, mother and father are both away at work, and there is no one to whom to report the misconduct.

In 1940 the total number of Negro and white girls who came to the juvenile courts was 310. This number represents the official and unofficial cases. There were 70 official Negro cases and 40 official white cases. The unofficial cases were 87 Negro and 113 white. Thus, in the official cases the Negroes outnumbered the whites almost 50%, and in the unofficial cases the whites are 55% of the total. Many of the official cases brought into the court are brought in by the police, and as was stated above the Negro child is

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[1] Frazier, E. Franklin, "The Negro Family in the United States, Chapter XVII, University Chicago Press.

more quickly arrested by the police than a white child. The Negro cases represent 45.65% of the total cases for the year. There were 19 different offenses listed for Negro girls in the official cases and four different offenses listed for white girls in the official cases. The four types of cases listed for white girls were: truant from home 8 or 20%, runaway 1 or 3%, larceny 2 or 6%, and incorrigible 29 or 71%. Table seven shows the complete list of offenses for which the Negro girls were called into court. The largest number of Negro girls listed is for truancy in 1940, twenty-three or 32.3%. Although the distribution is wide the number committing any other offense is small. Truancy from home stands next highest with nine offenders. Then follow fighting, disorderly conduct, shoplifting, larceny having three offenders each, and illegal possession of whiskey and trespassing numbered four offenders each.

In the unofficial cases listed, the distribution of white offenders is wider than that of the official cases. Table VI shows nine different offenses committed by white girls and 11 different offenses committed by Negro girls. Here again by far the largest number of white cases is for incorrigibility. 42.4% of the total cases are for this offense, whereas truancy stands first for Negro girls, with fighting second. Twenty-nine percent of the Negro cases are for truancy and 17.3% for fighting. The large

number of cases of truancy among Negro girls for 1940 as compared with 1939 is due to the fact that the city superintendent of public schools asked the juvenile courts to permit the probation officers to take on the work of truant officers for the city. This request was granted and a special effort was made to round up children who were remaining out of school. Both groups show a larger number of cases of sex offenses in 1940 than in 1939, but here again, it is hard to compare this offense because of the many ways in which it is often listed. However the term "Delinquency" is not given as the name of the offense in a single case listed by the Raleigh Court for 1940.

The offenses which the Negro girls committed, not committed by the white girls, were disorderly conduct, violation of city ordinances, shoplifting, damage to property, receiving stolen goods and trespassing. To hand around a public place after certain hours at night is a violation of a city ordinance. Many Negro girls go into the railroad station and stay all night, especially those who have remained away from home so late that they are afraid to return that night.

There were 15 different types of dispositions made of the combined 310 cases heard in 1940. Of this number 24 or 15.3% of the Negro cases were dismissed as compared with four or 2.58% of the white cases.

TABLE IV

OFFICIAL OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS

RALEIGH JUVENILE COURT

1939

Offenses	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	No.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Incorrigible	9	.16.	16	23.
Bastardly	1	1.67	--	--
Fighting	14	23.	--	--
Sex Offense	2	2.21	1	1.5
Larceny	13	22.	9	15.
Whiskey	1	1.6	1	1.5
Disorderly Conduct	6	11.	--	--
Truant from School	2	2.11	10	16.
Truant From Home	3	5.	19	30.
Engaging In Affray	6	11.	--	--
Violation of City Ordinance	1	1.67	--	--
Delinquency	1	1.67	8	14.2

TABLE V

DISPOSITION OF OFFENSES

OFFICIAL CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS

RALEIGH JUVENILE COURT

1939

Disposition	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Probation	15	25.	26	50.9
Reprimanded and Warned	33	56.	10	19.8
Supervision	4	6.	7	13.9
Pending	1	2.	2	3.8
Dismissed	4	6.	3	5.8
Home Placement	2	5.	3	5.8

TABLE VI

TOTAL NUMBER OF SEPARATE OFFENSES IN OFFICIAL CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS 1940

Offenses	Number	Percent
Truant From Home	9	12.67
Truant From School	23	32.3
Disorderly Conduct	3	4.20
Run Away	2	2.80
Fighting	5	7.14
Larceny - Aiding - Abetting	2	2.80
Sex Offense - Prostitution	1	1.40
Larceny	3	4.20
Shop Lifting	3	4.20
Sex Offense	1	1.40
Illegal Possession of Whiskey	4	5.63
Damage To Property	1	1.40
Violation Of City Ordinance	1	1.40
Trespassing	4	5.63
Assault With Deadly Weapon	2	2.80
Incorrigible	1	1.40
Assault Of Minor	2	2.80
Begging	2	2.80
Receiving Stolen Goods	1	1.40
Sex Delinquency	1	1.40

TABLE VII

UNOFFICIAL OFFENSES OF NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS

IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS

1940

Offenses	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	No.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Larceny	6	8.	3	2.6
Run Away	--	--	16	15.
Sex Offenses	10	11.4	10	8.8
Truancy From Home	8	9.1	11	9.
Truancy From School	25	29.	11	9.
Disorderly Conduct	8	9.1	--	--
Violation of Ordinance	1	1.1	--	--
Engaging in Affray	15	17.3	9	7.8
Shoplifting	3	3.4	--	--
Damaging To Property	--	--	--	--
Incorrigible	8	9.1	48	42.4
Throwing Rocks	--	--	4	4.
Gossiping	--	--	1	.8
Receiving Stolen Goods	1	1.1	--	--
Trespassing	2	2.2		

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF OFFICIAL OFFENSES OF

NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS

1940

Offenses	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Truant From Home	9	12.6	8	20.
Truant From School	23	32.3	--	--
Disorderly Conduct	3	4.20	--	--
Run Away	2	2.80	1	3.
Fighting	5	7.14	--	--
Larceny - Aiding - Abetting	2	2.80	--	--
Sex Offenses (Prostitution)	1	1.40	--	--
Larceny	3	4.20	2	6.
Shop Lifting	3	4.20	--	--
Sex Offense	1	1.40	--	--
Sex Delinquency	--	--	--	--
Illegal Possession Of Whiskey	4	5.63	--	--
Damage To Property	1	1.40	--	--
Violation Of City Ordinance	1	1.40	--	--
Trespassing	4	5.63	--	--
Assault With Deadly Weapon	2	2.80	--	--
Incorrigible	1	1.40	29	71.
Assault Of Minor	2	2.80	--	--
Begging	2	2.80	--	--
Receiving Stolen Goods	1	1.40	--	--

TABLE IX

DISPOSITION OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL
CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS
RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS
1940

Dispositions	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Dismissed	24	15.3	4	2.58
Placed on Probation	10	10.71	2	1.22
Continued Probation	16	10.	19	12.25
Private Homes	2	1.27	4	2.58
Temporary Supervision	3	1.9	24	15.4
Continued Supervision	6	8.83	24	15.4
State Or County Institutions	--	--	5	3.23
Reprimanded - Warned	64	40.76	23	14.9
Pending	19	13.	23	14.9
Restitution	1	.63	--	--
Boarding Schools	--	--	2	1.22
Indefinite Supervision	--	--	8	5.16
Boarding Homes	1	.63	2	1.22
Run Aways Returned	2	1.27	15	9.68
Confined	2	1.27	--	--

TABLE X

WHITE AND NEGRO RECIDIVISTS IN RALEIGH JUVENILE COURTS

1939 and 1940

1939

Types Of Recidivists	Negro Girls	White Girls
On Probation And Continued From Month to Month	10	26
Offenses by Children on Probation	3	2
New Offenses by Old Offenders	8	10

1940

Types Of Recidivists	Negro Girls	White Girls
On Probation And Continued From Month to Month	14	26
Offenses by Children on Probation	2	6
New Offenses by Old Offenders	5	0

TABLE XI

AGES OF NEGRO GIRLS CALLED BEFORE RALEIGH JUVENILE COURT DURING 1940

Age	Frequency	Percent
9	2	2.80
10	5	7.14
11	6	8.45
12	6	8.45
13	4	5.63
14	23	32.3
15	24	33.
16	2	2.80

Ten and seventeen hundreds percent of the Negro cases were placed on probation and 1.22% of the white cases were placed on probation. The sharp increase in cases placed on probation of Negro girls is due to the increase in truancy cases, eight of which were placed on probation. Old probation cases constituted 10% of the Negro cases and 12.25% of the white cases. As in 1939 the largest number of Negro cases were listed as reprimanded and warned. Forty percent of the cases were handled in this way as compared with 14.9% of the white cases. Two white girls were sent to boarding schools, one Negro case was settled by the payment of a fine, two Negro girls were placed in jail, one Negro girl went to a boarding home, and two white girls were placed in such homes. The largest number of white cases was handled by temporary supervision. Five white girls were sent to state or county institutions. The county institutions, except in the case of the county home, where few children are sent, are private institutions.

Two Negro girls already on probation committed new offenses, while six white girls are recorded as having committed a second offense while on probation. Five Negro girls who already had a court record, but whose cases were closed, committed new offenses. There were no white recidivists of this type in 1940. Whether the larger number of white girls reported to have committed offenses while on probation is due

to closer supervision or not is not known. The Negro case is often closed more quickly than the white case because of the heavy case load.

The record of Negro girls who came to the juvenile court in Durham, North Carolina in 1939 is rather meager. The unofficial cases are not listed and the files of the individual cases were not available in that office, as was the case in Raleigh. No definite comparison can be made between the cases of Negro and white girls. However, the tables on Negro delinquent girls in Durham for 1939 display, at least, the general trend found in Raleigh.

There were 41 cases of Negro girl delinquents handled officially by the Durham court in 1939. Eight of these cases were for larceny, six for truancy, twenty for acts of carelessness and mischief, five for assault, and two were cases of unmarried mothers. The last named cases are usually the type in which the girl and boy are both under age and the parents of the girl bring the case into the court to try to compel the boy to marry the girl, or to support the child. The law of the state says that when the parentage of the child is established the father is required to pay not less than $2.50 a week for the support of the child, provided he has a job. The writer knows of one instance in which the boy was forced by the court to leave school in order to earn the money.

The offense listed in Table Twelve, in which the of-

fenses committed by Negro and white girls in Durham in 1939, are listed as "acts of carelessness and mischief" seems to cover most of the cases listed, 48.78% are so designated.

Sixty-seven and eight tenths percent of these cases were disposed of by having the child reprimanded and warned. Ten or 24.39% were placed on probation and three or 7.3% were placed in foster homes. In many instances the child is taken into the foster home in order that the householder may receive the money which the city or county pays for the support of the child. The homes are not supervised, nor chosen according to any standards.

The cases handled by the Durham court of Negro and white girls for 1940 were 113. The Negro cases number 54 and the white cases numbered 59. These were the official cases handled by the court. Here, as in the cases heard in 1939, the largest number for both white and Negro girls was acts of carelessness and mischief. There were eighteen white cases and three Negro cases labeled as "other reasons". It was not possible to secure information as to what these "other" charges were. According to the judge they were cases in which there was friction between the parent or parents and the child. This interpretation of the cases seems reasonable in that the larger number of cases is of white girls, and there appear to be a larger number of cases in which the white girl is brought in for incorrigibility than is the case with Negro girls. This

This is true in both Durham and Raleigh. Possibly incorrigible and runaway cases of white girls exceed the cases of Negro girls to such an extent (in Raleigh in 1940, 71% of the cases of white girls were for incorrigibility) because parental domination in the white home is greater than in the Negro home, and loose family control due to broken homes, and the working of the mother outside the home causes the Negro child not to need to rebel against authority as often as the white child. On the other hand these cases are reported more often by the parent than other types of cases, and Negro parents, for obvious reasons, are reluctant to report their children to the authorities.

TABLE XII

OFFENSES OF OFFICIAL CASES OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN THE JUVENILE COURTS OF DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 1939

Offenses	Number	Percent
Truancy	6	14.6
Acts of Carelessness - Mischief	20	48.78
Assault	5	12.1
Unmarried Mother	2	4.87
Larceny	8	19.5

TABLE XIII

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS IN JUVENILE COURTS IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 1939

Offenses	Number	Percent
Reprimanded - Warned	28	67.8
Placed On Probation	10	24.39
Placed In Foster Homes	3	7.3

TABLE XIV

OFFENSES OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL CASES

OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS IN DURHAM JUVENILE COURTS

1940

Offense	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Larceny	4	4.7	3	3.63
Assault And Battery With Deadly Weapon	2	3.7	--	--
Ungovernable	4	4.7	4	4.82
Act Of Carelessness Or Mischief	22	40.7	24	28.9
Truancy From School	8	14.8	23	27.8
Truancy From Home	10	18.5	11	13.2
Other Reasons	3	5.6	18	21.7
Injury To Property	1	1.85	--	--

TABLE XV

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS

IN DURHAM JUVENILE COURTS

1940

Disposition Of Case	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Placed On Probation	2	3.7	10	17.2
Continued On Probation	--	--	--	--
Warned Or Dismissed	32	59.	28	47.
Run Aways Returned Home	11	20.	15	29.
Age Found To Be Above 16	4	7.	---	--
Under Strict Court Supervision	5	9.	2	2.1
Insufficient Evidence	1	1.8	4	6.7

The total number of Negro girls composing the official cases passing through the Juvenile Court of Greensboro, North Carolina was 78. There were 47 Negro girls and 31 white girls. The offenses listed were driving under 16 years, incorrigibility, "delinquency", truancy, sex offenses, larceny and runaways. The largest number of Negro girls was charged with larceny and the largest number of white girls was charged with runaway. This correlates with the finding in Raleigh and Durham. There were no incorrigible cases among the white girls, but six cases of incorrigibility were listed for Negro girls. The term "delinquency" is used to designate nine of the cases listed, four Negro and five white.

In the Greensboro court, just as in the Raleigh and Durham courts, the largest number of Negro cases, 57.80%, was reprimanded and warned. In Greensboro the largest number of white girls was handled in the same manner, 32.22%. Four Negroes were sent to private homes. The number of cases dismissed was small; it must be kept in mind that these figures represent only the official cases. The unofficial cases were not available for tabulation and no doubt, as in the case of Raleigh, these cases make up a larger group of the children handled than the official cases.

The official cases for Greensboro for 1940 were 69. There were 39 Negro cases and 30 white cases. Truancy and larceny were the offenses for which the Negro girls appeared

most often and "delinquency" was the offense for which white girls appeared most often. More Negro girls were found to be incorrigible than whites during this year. It is not possible to tell if this is a fact or if it is due to the loose use of terms. Next to "delinquency" the largest number of cases of misconduct on the part of white girls was larceny and truancy. The two types of misconduct for which no white cases appeared were begging and assault and battery. The white mill girls come into town here, and not having much money are tempted to steal from the stores, this may also account for the fact that a considerable number of white girls came before the court for "delinquency" which in most instances is a sex offense, probably prostitution.

In the treatment of the cases the Negro girls reprimanded and warned were in the largest numbers, 43.5%. Unlike the condition in Raleigh and Durham, and as was the case in Greensboro in 1939, more white girls were handled in this way than any other way; twenty-six percent of the total number were reprimanded and warned. In the case of white girls, "warned" often means a threat that if her behavior does not improve she will be sent to a correctional institution. More white cases were dismissed in this court than Negro cases and a larger proportion of Negro girls were placed on probation than white, although the actual number is not great. (See Table 14.)

TABLE XVI

NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS

WHO PASSED THROUGH THE JUVENILE COURTS OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

1939

Type of Offense For Which Brought To Court			
Offenses	Negro Girls	White Girls	Total
Driving Under 16	1	2	3
Incorrigibility	6	--	6
Delinquency	4	5	9
Truancy	5	3	8
Sex Offenses	1	2	3
Larceny	27	6	33
Run Aways	3	13	16

TABLE XVII

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF

NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS BROUGHT BEFORE THE GREENSBORO JUVENILE COURTS

1939

Disposition	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	No.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Dismissed	1	2.12	2	6.45
Continued On Probation	5	10.6	6	19.3
Private Homes	4	8.5	--	--
Temporary Supervision	3	6.3	5	16.1
Reprimanded - Warned	27	57.80	10	32.22
Returned Run Aways	3	6.3	3	9.6
Probation	4	8.5	5	16.1

TABLE XVIII

NEGRO AND WHITE DELINQUENT GIRLS

WHO CAME BEFORE THE JUVENILE COURT OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

1940

Type of Offense	Negro Girls	White Girls	Total
Larceny	10	6	16
Begging	1	--	1
Possession Of Whiskey	1	3	4
Incorrigibility	7	1	8
Sex Offenses	1	1	2
Delinquency	5	12	17
Trespassing	--	1	1
Truancy	13	6	19
Assault And Battery	1	--	1

TABLE XIX

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF NEGRO AND WHITE GIRLS

BROUGHT BEFORE GREENSBORO JUVENILE COURTS

1940

Dispositions	Negro Girls		White Girls	
	NO.	PERCENT	NO.	PERCENT
Dismissed	1	2.56	6	20.
Probation	7	17.7	5	16.
Continued On Probation	1	2.56	4	13.3
Private Homes	7	17.7	1	3.3
Temporary Supervision	5	12.8	--	--
Reprimanded - Warned	16	43.5	8	26.
Run Aways Returned	2	5.1	6	20.

In the study of the handling of the case of Negro delinquent girls in these three cities no record showed in any city the use of test or psychiatric treatment. Although in each city officials stated that these devices were sometime used in very special cases, but no illustrations were given. The judge or probation officer decide when and what cases should receive this treatment. There was no reference made to special ways in which the cooperation of the schools, social agencies, churches and recreation centers of the communities had been sought or used in the rehabilitation of the delinquent, except by the judge of the Durham court, who has attempted to form a coordinating council, which according to representatives of some other agencies, does not function very well. Each city has all of the agencies listed above, but as far as the records show there is no close cooperation between the juvenile courts and the agencies.

The Durham court, in referring cases to the various agencies, makes no special report as to the needs of the child or her background, to the character building agencies. The child is often told that she must appear at a certain agency, such as the community house, playground, or Sunday school so many times a week, and the director is called to find out if the child is carrying out the order, as a part of his probation requirement. The child becomes known to the director as a "court" child. Mary Huff Diggs says, "Juvenile courts

are the agencies which deal most frequently with the delinquent Negro child. Generally speaking they are poorly equipped for the task . . . large numbers of Negro youth are not reached by other character building and rehabilitating agencies. Negro children are having a hard time in charting for themselves lines of behavior that are both socially advantageous and socially acceptable."[1]

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[1] "The Problems and Needs of Negro Youth As Revealed by Delinquency and Crime Statistics", Journal of Negro Education, July 1940, P. 318.

CHAPTER XI

EXHIBIT OF CASE HISTORIES

Several case histories taken from the files of the court may serve to illustrate the type of case history to be found, and the methods used by judge and probation officer to treat the case.

It will be observed that often the recommendations of the probation officer are not adhered to. The very low wage scale of the average Negro family, especially where the home is broken, is brought to view. The crowded living conditions are called to mind, and immorality that often feeds on poverty displays itself.

NAME Mary A.

Date of birth November 26, 1926 Where Morganton, N.C.

Mother dead

Father January 1902 Durham County

Stepmother 1887 Wake County

School Method 8th grade

Church Baptist

Other Children 1 boy born 5/25/28 3rd grade

Rent home $4.00 4 rooms & hall (3 bedrooms - kitchen)

Weekly Income $13.00

COMPLAINT
Staying with man (s.F.

3/6/41
Probation Officer was told by elevator operator that a girl under 16 was in W. C. court house in jail. He stated that she was from Apex and was placed in jail 3/1/41. Police notified probation officer.

3/8/41
E.J.M. of Apex in office told Mrs. F. that he and his wife wanted a girl to help around the house. That he goes to Strathmore, Pa., each summer and wanted a girl to go with him and his family so she could help with the business. He stated that he would like to have Mary. He knew her to be a good worker, was smart but couldn't get along with her stepmother.

3/10/41
Mary was released. Probation officer and Mary went to her home, got her clothes and while there talked with the stepmother. She told probation officer that Mary is the type of child who will leave home and run into the neighbors' homes, takes their advice, rather than her's. Her stepmother said the reason Mary was in jail was because she had been picked up by officers for staying in a house with an 18 year old boy all night. Mary claims her stepmother did not treat her as she did her own children.

The stepmother said that about the latter part of November Mary began to dislike school and got her a job in Fayetteville as nurse maid. She had her job for three weeks. She began to get sick and come home. After she regained her strength she did not go back to Fayetteville but decided to stay in Apex.

After the death of Mary's mother in 1929 Mary was taken to live with relatives in Durham County. After the father remarried he moved near Apex and began farming. He sent for Mary to come live with him. As long as Mary lived in the country she behaved herself, went to school and made good grades. Three years ago this family moved to Apex to live with the stepmother's father who owned a 4 room house , three rooms were used for bedrooms and one for kitchen. Eleven people lived in the house. It was during this time that Mary showed signs of delinquency. She began staying away from home and tried to get a certain boy to marry her. She met another man from Georgia, who has a family. She said that if S. F. would not marry her this man would.

During the time the probation officer visited the home the father was working at Fort Bragg, earning about $14.00 a week. After expenses were taken out he had about $9.00 clear.

Mary was placed in the home of a family in Zebulon. She was not placed with E.S.M., because his wife did not have a good reputation, drinking, smoked and hung around piccolo joints, and had many men friends call on her.

The family at Zebulon called the probation officer and told him to come and get Mary and the other girls because they had been caught in the bed with men and they did not know what to do about it.

Later the probation officer made a visit and the boys were apprehended. The lady of the house stated that they heard noises in the girls' bed room between 11 p.m., and 2 a.m. She got up and went to the room and stood for a while and listened. In a few minutes she and her husband went into the room and turned on the lights. One of the girls was in the bed with the boy. He jumped out the window and ran. They asked where Mary was. She was outside the house with J.D., having an intercourse. Neighbors had been watching from their homes because the light shown on them. They ran when they saw the lady of the house, Mrs. A. G. Mary went to a neighbor's house and told them that Mrs. A. G. put her out

of the house. She spent the night and returned the morning of 5/5/41 wearing only her gown and coat.

The girls told the same story as Mary. They were sorry for what happened.

The boys were arrested but they were under 16. They were returned to their families.

Mary and her friend were brought the next day to the probation officer's office. Mrs. A. G. stated that on the previous night, at school, the girls had been going in and out the girls' toilet cutting out the light and having boys in the toilet with them.

The girls were placed with the probation officer's aunt, Mrs. M. until court hearing.

RECOMMENDATION
Girls be severely reprimanded by the judge. That the Juvenile Court had spent about $200 on her in the past 2 or 3 months. That the girls be placed in a separate home for a definite period.

5/9/41
Mary remained with Mrs. M. where she is carefully supervised. The stepmother wanted to take her back to live but Mary did not want to go. Mrs. M. told probation officer that Mary had gotten adjusted to her home and that she had bought her several dresses and a pair of shoes.

COURT ORDER
A delinquent child in that she did on the night of May 5 step out of her foster mother's home and upon the ground did have sexual intercourse with a boy age 15.

NAME Bertha B.

Date of birth	July 4, 1926	Wake County
Father	dead	South Carolina
Mother	dead (July 1, 1903)	Wake County
Grand parents	(reside)	
School	7th	
Other children	2 boys (June 3, 1923)	(June 7, 1924)

COMPLAINT

4/18/41
Keeping late hours and truancy from school, leaving home without permission.
Bertha promises to stay home - obey grandparents.

4/26/41
Bertha fails to comply with agreement with probation officer.

FACTS
The children have been in Oxford Orphanage for 10 years, where they stayed until July 1940. C. & E. the two boys past 16 have been under supervision of J. C. and have given little trouble. The grandfather wanted them to stay at orphanage but grandmother wanted them at home.

FAMILY HISTORY
Father E. and Mother G. both dead. Died when Bertha was very small. The children have been with their grandparents. They have not had proper food, clothing, etc. Grandfather is now receiving aid from W.C.W.D., and can't help the children. One boy, C. is attending school, 3rd year high, and is in the band. E. is not in school but works at odd jobs. Grandfather believes daughter visiting C. C. C. camp. Grandmother does not have much to say about the matter.

COMMUNITY
The H. children live in one of the worst communities in Raleigh. Grandparents were advised to move into a better community by probation officer before children came to live with them. Also advised it was better for children to stay at orphanage but they insisted that the older ones could help with finances because they had jobs for them. The jobs did not materialize.

SCHOOL HISTORY

Bertha is in the 7th grade.

CHURCH
All attend Baptist church with good attendance.

RECOMMENDATION

Probation officer's recommendation - Bertha be placed in boarding home or private home or boarding school. If she continues in present environment she will be like other girls in the same community.

Bertha complained of eyes and sent to N. C. State Blind Commission for glasses.

Recommendation not carried out to date.

NAME Katie X

Date of birth December 23, 1926 Where Raleigh Grade 8th

Father Maning, S. C.

Mother January 14, 1911 Georgetown, S. C.

Occupation Maid private home $4.00 per week

Church relation Baptist Attendance - fair

Other children girl Date of birth 2/12/29 Grade 6th

Father left family October 26, 1939

HOME
Do not own home
Rent $2.50 per week
Three rooms - bedroom living room kitchen

COMPLAINT
Will not work with mother in home.

11/27/40
Mother states that daughter Katie was getting unruly in home and would not do any odd jobs around house. Probation officer asked to visit home and talk with Katie, since she is a smart girl in school and her mother hated to see her become lazy and run around with other girls.

11/28/40
Visit made to the home. Talked with Katie in presence of mother. Probation officer found girl very polite and seemed well behaved. Probation officer asked Katie to bring a written report of her time for next week to his office. Seems she never had much time to help with the housework. Never brought it.

2/4/41
Mother returns to office of probation officer stating that daughter is getting more unruly and going around with older girls and boys, coming home late at night. She just couldn't put up with it any longer and something would have to be done about it. Conference with social worker and probation officer explained nothing be done in a rush and the case would have to be taken up with the judge.

2/7/41
Katie visited office to find out if she would be sent away. Katie told that her mother wanted her and sister sent away in order that a certain man might make visits without the children interfering. Katie stated that her mother had fixed breakfast for the man after he had stayed all night in bed with mother, and would not fix theirs (hers and sisters).

2/10/41
Katie reports to office of Probation officer that her mother put her out of doors because she failed to send all the laundry as her mother asked her to. She went to stay with a family at Chavis Heights. Later Katie brings her bags to office of probation officer and is accompanied by man of family of Chavis Heights. This man knows conditions of Katie's home. He explains the conditions which are as child said. Katie is placed in home of Mrs. Wilcox until case is heard.

2/11/41
Katie's mother called to find out what had happened to daughter. She felt that she belonged at home and was sorry for what she had done. She was not told where to find the girl but told to report to South Carolina 1:30 P. K. 2/13/41.

FAMILY
On first visit to home probation officer asked where father was. He left home 10/26/29 and believed to be somewhere in South Carolina. Katie told probation officer that she had talked with some woman who had been to the house where he lives to see him but was unable to locate him. Letters were sent to father - no answer - letters not sent back. Katie says father drank heavily but was very fond of her and took her to shows, etc. On 10/26/39 he went to school and told her that he was going home. Katie believes someone put something in his whiskey to make him wander off. Katie attached to father, sister to mother.

RECOMMENDATIONS
Probation officer recommends that judge give mother a good talking and that girl be sent to a boarding home in summer.

3/3/41
Probation officer goes to home as promised. Mother asked if it would be all right to give the $2.00 to Katie which the court ordered her to pay at the office. She gave her the money and took her to Kittrell College.

3/5/41
Visits made to Kittrell College by probation officer reveal that Katie carries herself with much dignity.
Later made honor roll.

ORDERS OF COURT
Court grants that the child is a dependent and neglected child in that her mother ran the child out of the home on or about the 7th day of February, further, that the mother's conduct in the home has become such that it is better for the child to be moved. The mother is to pay $2.00 a week into the juvenile court on or before the child is placed; that $2.00 a month be sent to Katie for spending money.

SCHOOLS
Application made to Palmer Memorial not accepted because of moral standing of students taken there and Katie would not have the background. Too expensive. Parents of other child selected this school because they were careful to separate them from the evil influences attendant upon their association in the public schools.

NAME Alice Y

Date of birth Feb. 2, 1929 Where Raleigh Grade 5th

Father (dead) Where Raleigh

Mother 1902 Where Sumter, S. C.

School attendance good

Occupation of parent Laundry Wages $9.00

Other children 3 girls (10-14-18)(4-10-20)(12-28-24)
1 boy (6-26-27)
1 girl finished high school, 1 - 7th grade,
1 - 1st year - boy 5th

HOME
Owner 6 rooms

LARCENY & RECEIVING

CAUSE OF COMPLAINT
Lady called police department September 30, 1939 and reported that a little girl had been prowling around her house. The case was referred to the J. C.

FACTS OF CASE
A visit was made to the lady's home, Mrs. Long. The girl began to cry that she had not been begging at any houses neither had she stolen any money. She had a bundle of clothes in her possession saying that a white lady in Boylan Heights had given them to her. Mrs. Long said that Alice had been to her house several times begging. Last Monday Alice stole $3.85. Mrs. Long did not want the child placed in jail nor punished but put on strict probation but, she did want to get some of her money back.

A visit was made to the home of the child to explain what had happened and the mother readily wanted to cooperate and wanted the child whipped.

Probation officer asked mother to bring child to J. C. Tuesday, October 3, 1939 at 3 P. M.

Before leaving house Alice stated that there were three other little girls involved in the case. She stated that she went into the house on Monday, September 25, 1939 and that P. and W. waited and watched in the street while she went in and stole the money and food. Later she divided the money with them.

Alice has a habit of roving through the streets of Raleigh, begging for food and money, telling people that she does not get enough to eat at home. She is very thin, dark, very short hair and is active. Her habits are bad. Goes around with much older girls and begs, and runs around with boys. Several complaints have been brought to J. C. about this little girl in the downtown streets begging.

HOME
In good repair - located in fairly good neighborhood. Five rooms - large hallway and bath. Six people live in the house. Fairly well furnished and clean.

Mother earns $9.00 a week at laundry and daughter H earns $5.00 plus tips. They own their home.

The attitude of the mother and other children in the house was good toward the child but stated that it is almost impossible to keep her at home, but she does attend school every day.

Before father died he bought a home for the family and provided well for them as long as he lived.

Alice is in 5th grade and attends school regularly. She has not missed a grade, her grades are good.

RECREATIONAL HISTORY
There are no playgrounds in the community but there are several small churches.

RECOMMENDATION AND ORDER OF COURT
Probation officer recommends Alice put in strict probation to report to office of probation officer every Saturday at 9 and Judge Jones 2nd Tuesday of each month at 3 o'clock until dismissed.

3/6/41
Alice broke in home of Rosa Jones, stole milk bottles she returned them. Alice and new friends W. and G. stole fruit jars from peddlars truck.

3/7/41
Alice brought some silk under clothes, stockings, various colored veils, etc., by S's house who lives next door to her and wanted to leave them. S. would not let her.

3/8/41
False fire alarms turned in by Alice. Several had been turned in during the week. She denied that she did this and said that her friend G. did it. Both admitted they had taken part.

Alice and her friends P. W. and B. were searching and attempting to search cars parked near Union Station on nights of May 16, 17, 1940. The girls were apprehended by police officer and turned over to probation officer.

3/18/41
Alice and one of her friends, B. were placed with Alice and Ernest Jones, Apex, North Carolina. They were doing well and getting enough to eat but had poor clothes.

UNOFFICIAL CASE

NAME Mattie Z

Date of birth July 26, 1927 Wake County

Mother dead

Father dead

Foster Mother P. T.

Occupation of parent Unemployed

Church P Street Attendance good

CAUSE OF COMPLAINT
Complaint was made to probation officer by Mrs. P. T. that Mattie, her foster child, frequents a house where she is encouraged to associate with boys.

FACTS OF THE CASE
Whenever Mattie is sent on errands for her mother she stays longer than the time allotted. Her mother found that she was spending time at a house on the same street that she lives to keep company with boys. She also spends time with H. D., a high school boy who lives nearby.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY
Mattie is an adopted child of Mrs. P. T., who is blind. Mrs. P. T. makes her living by singing, in addition to her aid to the blind. She depends upon Mattie to cook, keep house and take her from place to place. Mattie attends school in addition to her other duties. Up until now there had been no complaints. She had good character and reputation. She was obedient and attentive.

HOME CONDITIONS
Mattie and Mrs. P. T. live in a three room house which is in good condition, clean and neatly kept. A living room furnished with radio, piano davenport and odd chair, worn rug on the floor, pictures and diploma on the wall.

A bedroom with an old style bedroom suite, linoleum floor.

A wood stove in the kitchen, small table and chairs no color scheme, just a kitchenette to cook in but clean.

SCHOOL
Mattie attends school regularly. Good conduct. 6th grade.

RECREATIONAL HISTORY
Mattie and her mother are members of P Street Church and Mattie has recently joined the Girls Reserve Club at Tuttle Community Center.

RECOMMENDATION
Welfare recommends that the child have close supervision and more time for recreation.

CHAPTER XII

COMPARISON OF METHODS OF TREATMENT OF NEGRO DELINQUENT GIRLS WITH STANDARD METHODS

According to the description of standards for treatment of juvenile delinquency mentioned in Section Three of this paper, there are several methods of treatment used in the disposition of delinquent Negro girls by the juvenile courts in the cities studied which do not conform to present day standards of progressive and helpful treatment. Perhaps these courts do as good or a better job than many courts in the country, for among the three thousand courts scattered over the country there are no uniform standards. Moreover some county courts in North Carolina are very inferior to the city and city-county courts of the type which were studied. Nevertheless, the items I shall mention stand out boldly and are, according to state figures, more or less common throughout the state.

1. The first of these methods of treatment which is not up to standard is the frightening of a child into good behavior by giving her an embarrassing tongue lashing and threatening her with what shall happen should she appear before the court again. Of the whole number of cases of Negro delinquent girls studied in the three cities, which totaled four hundred and forty-nine, two hundred and one, which is almost half (40.31%)

were reprimanded and warned, and as far as it was possible to find out, this was the only treatment attempted in most cases. In this type of treatment the child is told "Go back out there in the deep water, learn to swim without any help, and don't you dare drown!

Fear should never be the basis of good behavior, and any type of treatment which tends to force children to conform only because of fear may relieve the community of certain annoyances for the time being, but the suppressed child may be developing traits during this time which will cost the community more money for his care as an adult criminal than it would have cost to help him become really adjusted when he was a juvenile delinquent.

2. The second method used which is below standard is the placing of girls in the city or county jail, when they need to be confined, because there are no detention homes. The rate of this practice is not high, but one case handled in this manner is too many.

3. Occasionally in unofficial cases the judge has demanded that the parent whip the child as the method of treatment, this method is not as frequently used as treatment for girls as for boys. This type of treatment is often required as punishment, without regard as to whether it is the best type of treatment for the particular child or not. The parent is often required to whip the child before witnesses, such as the probation officer or judge. The shame of such an experience often

destroys any help that might be derived from such treatment.

4. It was not possible to find a case in which a diagnosis based on mental tests, a detailed school record, a thorough physical examination, a full description of the behavior of the child prior to his contact with the court, a well rounded description of his family background, and an account of the child's own story was the basis for the method of treatment used. Thus, it is clear that the aim of modern treatment of delinquency, which is to recognize delinquency as a sympton of some maladjustment, find the reason for the symptom and help the child make adjustments, is not adhered to in the treatment of most of these girls.

5. The foster home method of treatment is used, but the choice of the home used is based on no particular standards and the men probation officers often make the choice of homes a matter of personal friendship. The standard of pay to the householder for maintenance of the child ranges from two to four dollars per week, and only families with rather low standards of living, as to cleanliness, balanced diet, and health habits, care to assume the responsibility of these children at the price for care which can be obtained. Moreover, most of the children are placed in houses in rural sections. The probation officers state that the reason for making most placements in rural homes is because they want to get the children away from their town gang and also because

rural families will take children for less money than city families. In placing the children, however, the probation officers state that they can give no attention to special needs of a child, such as proper school facilities, health protection, and recreational outlets. The supervision of these foster homes is very meager and sporadic. The probation officers claim that this is true because of the heavy load they must carry, together with the many other responsibilities they must assume, such as directing camps and assisting city police in rounding up adult criminals.

There are certain ways in which the juvenile court personnel, and the organization of the court do not meet the standards of juvenile courts as outlined by the Children's Bureau, and the National Probation Society.

1. In neither of the three cities has the judge of the juvenile court had any special training or experience which would make him especially suited to handle juvenile delinquency cases before being appointed judge of the juvenile court. One judge had been city solicitor before becoming judge, one had been a housewife and club woman, and one had been a criminal lawyer. Of the three judges the one who had been the criminal lawyer is considered to be the most progressive and enlightened in the handling of juvenile offenders, by five social case workers who have had contact with all three judges.

2. Coordination with the social and character building agencies of the communities is very poor. Durham is the only one of the three cities which attempts a coordinating council, and even in Durham the work of the council is handicapped because many of the trained workers from other agencies cannot adjust their methods of working with the children to those of the untrained judge.

3. Negro girls, in all three cities, are forced to discuss their problems with men probation officers. In Durham this probation officer is a white man, and he, though well trained and no doubt somewhat sympathetic to the Negro's problem, has lived all his life in the Northern states until he came to work in Durham a year ago, and thus cannot understand clearly all of the subtle philosophies and attitudes which a Southern Negro girl must face. Moreover, he is the only probation officer for both the city and the county. The judge of the Durham Court states that she would like to have a part time Negro woman worker who would work closely with the Negro truant officer. She feels that there are not enough Negro cases to employ a full time Negro probation officer. However, in 1937 there were three hundred and thirty-seven unofficial cases of Negro girls alone, which came before the Durham courts, and in 1938 there were three hundred and two such cases. No record of the unofficial cases for 1939 and 1940 could be obtained. If the record is correct this shows

a goodly number of cases of Negro girls handled by the Durham Court unofficially. According to the judge these children were warned and dismissed, It appears that a full time Negro man and woman probation officer could be used by the Durham Court.

4. Until two years ago the court docket book was the only type of record kept by the Juvenile Courts of Durham and Raleigh, as far as the cases of Negro girls were concerned. For the most part, better case records of Negro boys and white girls and boys were kept because the industrial schools for these groups, more definitely supervised by the State Department of Charities and Public Welfare, required social case histories and detailed reports in connection with the cases which come to them.

5. The training of the members of the Juvenile Court Staff, with the exception of the probation officer of the Durham Court, is very meager. The Clerk of the Raleigh Juvenile Court, who is responsible for the attempt at systematic record keeping in the Raleigh Court has had three months training in the office of the court at Richmond, Virginia. The Negro probation officers of Durham and Greensboro have had no formal social work training. The Raleigh probation officer has been granted a six months Rosenwald Scholarship for study during the Fall and Winter of 1941. This is a hopeful sign in the Raleigh Court.

Lack of funds, as well as lack of interest and understanding on the part of these communities, are responsible to a large degree for the condition of the courts. The Juvenile Court set-up at Charlotte, which is a combined city-county-juvenile-domestic relations court with a child guidance clinic, is leading the state in advancement toward proper juvenile court organization and proper methods of treatment of juvenile offenders. However, Charlotte is the center of a rather wealthy county , in comparison with most of the counties of the state, and it cannot be expected that other cities will progress as rapidly toward standardization of the handling of juvenile delinquency as Charlotte has.

To my mind each of the cities might work out a progressive program to gradually take place over several years which would improve the methods used in the treatment, not only of Negro girls, but of all the delinquent children both white and black.

The State set up, while loose and in some instances ineffective with regard to bringing about standardized methods of treatment, does leave a city or county free to advance as far along a progressive line as it will, or can go. The State also demands that the county have a juvenile court and stands willing to help that county develop that court, and is willing to offer the use of state experts to assist in program building at all times.

The first step which will improve the plight of the Negro girl can only be taken by the state, that is to establish an industrial school for Negro girls based on the best standards of schools of that type to-day. If the state takes this step, the attitude toward treatment of delinquent Negro girls throughout the state will be improved. At present, because of lack of this step on the part of the state, all of the cities and counties of the state take a more or less defeatist attitude toward the handling of cases of Negro girls. I do not mean to infer that this type of treatment should be used in any disproportionate degree for the handling of cases of Negro girls, but it would place at the disposal of the juvenile courts, the same type of facility in dealing with Negro girls as they now have in dealing with white girls and Negro and white boys.

The second step could be taken by each of the three cities, and it would cost little in dollars and cents. The juvenile court of each city could conduct in cooperation with the schools, an educational program, such as the one described in this paper, which the Court of Buffalo, New York is conducting.

The third step would take time and money, but would be worth it, and could be achieved if the community were sufficiently aroused. This step should be the placing of all personnel of the juvenile court from the judge to the clerk,

according to civil service examinations which would be given according to the highest standards. Along with this type of appointment would have to go better salaries, in most instances, than now exist. The Negro probation officer of Raleigh receives ninety dollars per month. The politician would have to be faced at this step and it would probably take several years to work it out.

The fourth step should be the development of a strong coordinating council patterned after the one in Berkeley, California. The success of this step will depend largely on the success of step three, for only an intelligent court judge, who knows what he should have in a council, and how to get it, can achieve a successful council. The council in Durham illustrates this point.

The fifth step should be to use the facilities of the schools in all ways possible. Particularly might the mental test be given by the schools, as well as records of other types of information, covering the child,which would aid the probation officer in his study of the case be secured from the school. At present the schools do not give mental tests to the children in these three cities. A psychologist attached to the public school system would be of untold value to the class room teacher, as well as the court. The salary of such a person might be paid by the courts, the public school fund, and the county, thus reducing the burden

of each, while each received the benefit of their work.

Finally, if Negro girls are to be helped to any great extent, a Negro woman referee or probation officer, as well as a Negro man officer, and a white man and woman officer should be attached to each court. The Raleigh judge has been moved to ask for a Negro woman probation officer already, but unless she is a well trained person, no great advantage will be derived by her appointment.

In service training might take the place of the third step, and if the persons are not too wedded to their out moded methods, improvements might be achieved.

Such a program gradually developed would greatly improve the capacity of these three cities to rehabilitate the Negro girls in the area, and not only the Negro girls but white girls, and Negro and white boys, for the old adage, "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link", holds true in the rehabilitation of delinquent children.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT NEGRO GIRLS IN THREE NORTH CAROLINA CITIES

by

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A. B., Shaw University, 1926

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The study of the treatment of Negro delinquent girls in three North Carolina cities is an attempt to compare the methods used in the handling of these girls with the methods used in handling the white girls of the same cities, as well as to compare the methods used in the treatment of these Negro girls with the standards set up by the State of North Carolina regarding the handling of delinquent children. Finally, the methods used by these cities in treatment of Negro girls were compared with the accepted scientific methods of treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

This study appears justifiable in that the State of North Carolina at present does not make the same provision for the treatment of delinquent Negro girls as it does for Negro boys and white boys and girls.

The North Carolina Legislature passed laws in 1915 making provisions for the establishment of juvenile courts throughout the state. This law was reorganized in 1919, and as a result, every county in the state was required to establish a juvenile court with a probation officer, as well as a judge.

To-day there are one hundred and eight courts in the state which are divided into three classes, county, city-county and city.

There is no state law providing for uniform methods of treatment in these courts, nor uniform record systems.

The state does not provide equal facilities for all of

its delinquent children. An industrial school is provided for white girls, and also white and Negro boys, but no such institution is provided for Negro girls.

Placing a child in jail and whipping are still used as methods of treatment by some courts in the state.

The Negro women's clubs of North Carolina have partitioned the State Legislature since 1919 to establish an industrial school for Negro girls. For several years these club women maintained a school for Negro girls, but abolished the school in 1939 with the hope that their action would help bring the state to the realization of the need to provide a training school for Negro girls. Two bills have been introduced into the legislature to provide such a school. In 1941 the legislatrue appointed a committee to study the question.

There were 838 Negro delinquent girls who passed through the juvenile courts of North Carolina in the five year period, 1934 - 1939. Their ages ranged from five years to sixteen years. There were 410 city girls and 428 rural girls. The largest number of girls were charged with larceny and receiving. Fighting, if all types of assaults are combined, would be the offense for which the largest number of girls were brought into court.

Methods used for the treatment of these girls were dismissed, fine and cost, foster home, jail, sent to orphan homes, other counties and other cities, whipped and sent to

institutions. Almost one half of these cases were dismissed despite the fact that many of the charges were of a serious nature. Almost one fourth (21.5%) of these girls were recidivists.

The three cities in which the treatment of Negro delinquent girls was studied were Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro. These cities are near the three leading universities of the state, and also near the State Department of Public Welfare. This gives the courts of these cities access to psychological and sociological facilities of the universities and close contact with the State Department.

The Negro population in each of the three cities is about a third of the total population. In Raleigh and Greensboro, the Negroes earn their living, primarily, by working in domestic and personal service. In Durham, beside the types of work mentioned above, the Negroes work in the tobacco factories.

The Juvenile Court in Raleigh, a city-county court, is composed of a judge, a white man and woman probation officer, a Negro probation officer and a clerk. Greensboro's court, which is the city type court, has the same personnel set up. Durham's court is a city-county type. The judge, one white man probation officer and a clerk compose the staff. The best trained person with regard to the handling of treatment of juvenile offenders, is the white probation officer in Durham.

On the whole, the training of the personnel of the courts of these cities is inadequate for the work.

The facts concerning Negro delinquent girls in these three cities were secured by study and tabulation of the information on the record cards, in the offices of the juvenile judges, conversation with probation officers, and a conference with the judge of the Durham Court.

The data cover the years 1939 - 1940. Record could not be secured for earlier dates.

The courts of these three cities handled 397 cases of Negro delinquent girls during the period 1939 - 1940. The largest number of these girls were brought into the courts for stealing, fighting and truancy, as compared with white girls, who were brought in in largest numbers for runaway and incorrigibility.

The largest number of Negro girls were treated by reprimanding and warning. The largest number of white girls were treated by being placed on probation.

The study shows that the use of modern methods of treatment are not heavily relied on in the handling of cases of Negro girl delinquents. There is little cooperation between the juvenile courts and the social and character building agencies. The probation officers are over-worked. The use of the foster home method of treatment is not properly conducted. Politics enter into the appointment of juvenile court officials.

There are inadequate facilities for the treatment of delinquent Negro girls. Too many cases of Negro delinquent girls are treated by warning and reprimand, based on a psychology of fear.

The case studies show that poverty, immorality on the part of parents, over crowded living conditions, as well as the normal frustrations of youth, face these girls.in a most baffling manner.

The following steps, over a period of years, would probably improve the methods of treatment for Negro delinquent girls, and no doubt help in the situation, with regard to white girls and boys and Negro boys also.

1. The establishing of a training school for delinquent Negro girls.

2. The establishment of an educational delinquency prevention program, such as the one carried on in Buffalo, New York.

3. The use of civil service methods in the choice of juvenile court officials.

4. Better use of the types of records which can be supplied by the public school system, and the addition of psychologists to the public school systems, who can be used by schools and courts alike.

5. The development of strong coordinating councils patterned after the council of Berkeley, California.

6. The appointment of well trained Negro women referees or probation officers, as well as white women and men and Negro men probation officers in each city.

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